

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WILLARD B. VAN HORNE, SR.,  
OF EAST CHICAGO, IND.

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Willard B. Van Horne, Sr., of East Chicago, Ind., the oldest practicing attorney in Indiana, and also a pioneer legislator dating back to the Indiana General Assembly in 1911 to 1916, will celebrate his 93rd birthday on June 4 of this year. I, along with thousands of his friends in the Calumet Region of Indiana, have admired his vitality and activity in legal and civic circles for many years.

Mr. Van Horne's son-in-law, Charnes M. Squarcy, assistant to the Vice President of Inland Steel Co., has advised me of some of his father-in-law's outstanding accomplishments during his long service to his community, county, State, and Nation, which I hereby include with my remarks:

WILLARD B. VAN HORNE, SR.

Perhaps the most incredible fact of all about Willard B. Van Horne, Sr. is that at the age of ninety-three he is still actively engaged in the practice of law on a full five day a week basis. His practice is a general one and any refusal of cases is solely on account of lack of time. One company, the Washington Lumber and Coal, has been his client continuously since 1913. Several of his private clients are third generation. He served in the Indiana General Assembly in 1911, 1913 and 1915 and is fond of telling you that in the 1913 session he was one of four Republicans, 95 Democrats and one "Bull-Mooser." He is still sufficiently interested in politics to have appeared before the Indiana General Assembly last February, making a few very well chosen purposely innocuous remarks, as he said it would abuse the privilege of an ex-member to say anything which could be construed as lobbying.

Two years ago in spite of a cast on his leg, from ankle to groin, he flew to Washington to attend the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, because he particularly wanted to hear and see President Nixon at the opening session.

He participates regularly in the local and state bar association, Kiwanis, Shrine and Elks. The list of other community activities is too long to enumerate. Like his cousin, William Van Horne, who was knighted by the British government for his construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, he has an enormous appetite for gourmet food and good cigars. Although he has a housekeeper three days a week and an elderly son who lives with him, he is fond of cooking, and would still be gardening if his waistline would permit.

He communicates regularly with his five children, eight grandchildren and five great-grandchildren and enjoys their accomplishments as his own most important success.

Born on June 4, 1879, in Grant Park, Illinois, of Dr. G. W. Van Horne and Sarah Mather (both of distinguished early American families) he was graduated from Valparaiso University in 1901, and from Kent College of Law in 1902. This June 5 with as many of his friends as can crowd into the spacious office he now shares with his eldest son, he will celebrate the 93rd anniversary of his birth and the 71st year of his admission to the bar of the State of Indiana.

THE MINING OF NORTH VIET-  
NAMESE HARBORS

HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 23, 1972

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, the mining of North Vietnamese harbors raises the possibility of a naval confrontation with the Soviet Union for the first time since the Cuban missile crisis 10 years ago. This dangerous escalation was undertaken in the name of protecting our troops in South Vietnam by cutting off supplies from the north.

The Los Angeles Times of May 18 published an article showing that the mining of North Vietnamese harbors has only dubious military validity. The article written by Mr. Leslie Gelb, formerly the Director of Pentagon Policy Planning and Arms Control and Director of the Pentagon Papers Project for the Secretary of Defense. Mr. Gelb estimates that after an initial period of adjustment, total transport into North Vietnam would probably not be reduced by more than 50 percent or even 25 percent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Gelb's article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE MINES IN HAIPHONG HARBOR WILL NOT  
KEEP ALL SUPPLIES OUT OF HANOI'S HANDS.  
(By Leslie H. Gelb)

For three years, President Nixon has been warning Hanoi and Moscow. If Hanoi stepped up the level of military activity in South Vietnam and endangered Vietnamization, the President said he would take "decisive action." Now, he has taken these actions: mining North Vietnamese port, interdicting cargo transfers to smaller craft, bombing the rail links with China and attacking military targets in the North. But will these actions be "decisive"? And when?

I am not an expert on military supply problems. I am, however, familiar with the supply situation with respect to North Vietnam. Corrections, of course, would be welcome from the Pentagon if my facts or reasoning are faulty. My facts and reasoning are fully consistent with CIA estimates as revealed in the Pentagon Papers and by more recent CIA studies divulged by Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska.)

The first question is what will Russia and China do? They provide nearly all the arms, ammunition and petroleum used by the North Vietnamese. Without their aid, Hanoi would have to change its strategy. But Moscow and Peking are not very likely to cut off or cut down on their aid. There is no reason to believe that they would leave their ally without bullets any more than we would. Moreover, Hanoi does not need as much aid as Saigon. U.S. aid to Saigon totals 8 to 10 times the Soviet-Chinese aid to Hanoi.

The next question is can Russia and China continue to supply North Vietnam in the face of the naval quarantine and bombing? The alternatives are: ship, plane, train, truck and people.

A maximum of about 75% of the supplies reaching North Vietnam come by sea. The Russians could challenge the quarantine

with mine sweepers and subs. The Chinese could launch air attacks against U.S. ships. But they are unlikely to do so given the enormous U.S. sea and air conventional superiority in the area and the risks of global confrontation. If mines are swept, new ones can be emplaced. North Vietnamese fast boats, armed with long-range ship-to-ship missiles, could attack and badly damage or sink some U.S. vessels. But such actions would not break the quarantine. Barges and small boats emanating from the China coast and landing on beaches and small ports at night could get through. In sum, the quarantine could be 90% effective. But the point is sea transport is a convenience, not a necessity.

The Russians have a large fleet of heavy cargo aircraft, big enough to haul tanks. This would be the fastest and easiest way to make up the sea transport deficit—especially if they could overfly China. President Nixon has not discussed this possibility, but is unlikely to shoot down Soviet aircraft.

The capacity of the two rail lines connecting China and North Vietnam could be increased significantly. Even if the United States blows up the tracks by day, they can be repaired in a matter of hours. Therefore, fully loaded trains could even result in no decrease in rail transport by present levels.

Trucks coming from China also would put a hefty bite into the sea transport deficit. Roads would need improvement, but sufficient trucks are available. Night-driving trucks are not easy to destroy, as indicated by the U.S. bombing experience on the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Supplies for rail and trucks could be unloaded by Soviet ships docking at South China ports.

If worse comes to worst, people can carry supplies on their backs. The Chinese have done it before. The North Vietnamese lugged tons of heavy equipment to the hills surrounding Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

All of this would take a period of adjustment, say one to three months. When this period is completed, my guess is that total transport into North Vietnam would not be reduced by more than 50% and probably closer to 25%.

Meanwhile, the North Vietnamese have extensive stock-supplies of equipment and ammunition in the North. In Laos and Cambodia, and in South Vietnam itself—not to mention what they can capture. These supplies probably could last months. If not six months, depending on rates of consumption. In other words, were Hanoi to adopt a less offensive posture in the coming months, their supplies would last a long time. Moreover, there would be little to fear from a successful counter-offensive by Saigon. Saigon forces are not well enough led or motivated for such a venture.

Will the President's actions, then, be decisive? No. Certainly not in the short run: where Hanoi has sufficient supplies for the present offensive. The current battles over Hue and Kontum will not be affected at all. Nor will his actions be decisive in the long run. Hanoi will once again have to tighten its belt. It may even be compelled to moderate its offensive in three or four months. Hanoi can and will fight on.

The difference between X and Y tons of supplies is not what this war is all about. It is a civil war and a war for national independence that began in the early 1940s. Hanoi had more to fear militarily in the late 40s against the French and in 1968 when faced with more than half a million U.S. forces.

In time, the quarantine and the stepped-up bombing will be seen for what they are—another tragic phase in a war that cannot be won by outside force.